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Is there not a precedent in that agreement for the policy which I now present in dealing with the Sandwich Islands? What greater triumph could now be attained by the new power which has suddenly come to the front in the far East than for Japan to unite with the United States in justifying the name of the Pacific Ocean. In the middle of the great ocean, two thousand miles from nearly every other land, lie these Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands. None of the great nations desire to assume the responsibility of taking, arming and defending them; none would like to see either one assume the power and responsibility. All alike need for the conduct of their commerce the right to establish coaling stations, to land electric cables and to enjoy the benefits of their harbors of refuge.

Without taking up the question of the past or dealing with the rights or wrongs of the native or of the foreign population, we now find an established government existing which can be modified and changed under the pressure of public opinion so as to assure justice and equal rights without distinction of race, color or condition. What stands in the way of a compact among the great commercial nations? The United States and Japan joined with the British Empire, the German Empire, France, Russia and Italy, may establish the conditions which I have presented to you. Argument is not needed in such a cause. The very suggestion carries its full force,—it would only be weakened by further discussion.

“ Shall these things come to pass!—

Nay, if it be—alas!—

A vision, let us sleep and dream it true!

Or sane and broad awake,

For its great sound and sake,

Take it and make it Earth's, and peace ensue! ”

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

The sixty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society was held in Pilgrim Hall, Congregational House, Boston, May 16, 1895, at 2.30 P. M.

In the absence of the President, Rev. Joseph S. Cogswell, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, was called to the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. G. W. Stearns, after which a recording secretary was appointed and the minutes of the Annual Meeting held May 14, 1894, were read and approved.

On motion the chair was authorized to appoint a committee to bring forward the names of officers to serve the Society for the coming year. The chair named Rev C. B. Smith, Rev. G. W. Stearns, and Mr. N. T. Allen, to constitute the committee.

The Treasurer's Report was then read and approved. The Report showed that \$5,989.10, including \$500 bor-

rowed, had been received during the year, and that the amount expended was \$5,838.45, the balance in the treasury being \$150.65.

The auditor reported that he had examined the Treasurer's accounts and found them correctly kept, with proper vouchers for all moneys expended.

The Annual Report of the Board of Directors, prepared for them by the Secretary, was then read. Remarks upon the report were made by Dr. A. A. Miner, Rev. J. S. Cogswell and Mr. Samuel L. Hartman. It was voted that the report be accepted and printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. (The report is given in full below.)

The report of the committee to nominate officers was then read and the persons named chosen for the coming year. (For the list see page 122.)

It was voted that the Executive Committee be authorized to select delegates to attend the Peace Congress to be held at Luxemburg in August.

The Secretary reported that the resolution adopted last year had been forwarded to Ambassador Bayard, and that an appreciative letter, printed in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, had been received from Mr. Bayard acknowledging the receipt of the resolution.

The meeting adjourned at 4.45 P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:

The Directors appointed by you at the Annual Meeting in May of last year respectfully submit the following report:

It is our painful duty to record the loss to the Society by death during the year of a number of honorable and valuable members including five Vice-Presidents and two Directors, viz., Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. Frederick Douglass, Senator James F. Wilson of Iowa, Dr. James E. Rhoads, Ex-President of Bryn Mawr College, Mr. T. B. Coolidge, Mr. Patrick McGrath, and Hon. A. B. Wentworth. Some of these had been long and generously connected with the Society's work, others were among the foremost American advocates of peace and international arbitration, and all in their different spheres had done good and faithful service. Since every reform rests ultimately upon the opinions and efforts of individual men and women, it is encouraging to see the number of the friends of peace everywhere increasing, new workers coming forward to take the place of those who leave us. Several life members and annual members have been added to our list since the meeting last year.

OUR WORK.

The general work carried on by us during the year has been similar to that of former time. Regular meetings of our Board have been held every two months. They have

usually been well attended, and many different phases of the peace and arbitration movement have received attention. The Executive Committee have held occasional meetings to look after the finances of the Society. The treasurer's report shows that there has been a considerable falling off the past year in receipts from bequests and donations as compared with former years. This decrease has been partly though not wholly offset by increased income from membership fees, from subscriptions to our periodicals, from the sale of literature, and from advertisements.

PUBLICATIONS.

Our monthly periodicals, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and the *ANGEL OF PEACE*, have been continued during the year under the editorial care of the Secretary. Interest in these publications has considerably increased and a larger edition of both is issued than heretofore. The subscription list of the *ADVOCATE* is steadily increasing and an edition of three thousand copies is now issued. We hope soon to be able to increase the number to five thousand or even more. In sending out free copies, paid for by the contributions of friends of the cause, care has been taken to put them into the hands of ministers, teachers, editors and other leaders of public opinion. The reading rooms of all the Colleges and Universities in the United States, and those of a number of Young Men's Christian Associations and public libraries have been regularly furnished the *ADVOCATE*. The opening in this direction for the development of a strong pacific public opinion in the coming generation is very great, and much more might be done if means were at command with which to work.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

There has been a steady demand for Sumner's "The True Grandeur of Nations," Dymond's "Essay on War," The Baroness von Suttner's "Lay down your Arms" and other standard works of like import. A considerable number of these works have been purchased and sold or otherwise disposed of. Large quantities of pamphlet literature, partly published from our office and partly bought elsewhere, have been circulated. A number of other peace societies in this country depend upon us for a considerable portion of the literature which they use. Our Secretary has given special attention to providing for our own use and the use of other societies a pamphlet literature fresh and of high order which shall command the respectful attention of thinking minds.

SECRETARY'S PUBLIC WORK.

In addition to his editorial and other office duties, which the rapid growth of the peace movement and a consequent increased correspondence render more and more arduous, the Secretary has found time to represent our work by public addresses on a number of important occasions during the year. By invitation he addressed the Mass Peace Convention held at Ocean Grove, N. J.,

in July last, under the auspices of the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society of Philadelphia, and also delivered an address at the Commemorative Service held by the same Society at Philadelphia in December in connection with the placing of the statue of William Penn on the City Hall. Both these addresses have since been published and circulated. He has also addressed meetings at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., at Newburyport, Mass., Hyde Park, Wellesley Hills, East Lexington, Bolton, and spoken before a number of Associations and Conventions in Boston, etc.

PRIZES.

The three prizes offered last year to members of the two upper classes in our Colleges and Universities for essays on the "Economic Waste of War" were awarded in December. Eight Colleges and Universities competed, and essays received showed careful and conscientious preparation. The first prize, \$100, was given to Mr. Henry Salant of the University of the City of New York. The second, \$50, to Mr. B. F. Arnold of Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, and the third, \$25, to Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn of Columbia College. It would be useful to continue these prizes from time to time if the resources of the Society would permit it.

WORK FOR ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION TREATY.

One of the most important subjects claiming our attention has been the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain. The subject has been under consideration for several years, and has had a large share of the attention of the friends of peace in both countries. They rightly believe that a treaty of this kind between the two great English-speaking peoples would prove a mighty factor in promoting a better understanding and more perfect harmony between the nations of the earth, and that therefore the subject should be pressed to solution in all possible ways. We have done what we could to try to bring about the speedy negotiation of such a treaty. The subject has been kept prominently before the readers of the *ADVOCATE*. A Committee of three consisting of Mr. Paine, Mr. Sheldon and Dr. Trueblood went to Washington in December in the interests of the treaty. They had interviews with the Secretary of State, with the chairmen and different members of the two Committees on Foreign Affairs, and with a number of prominent senators and representatives. The Committee soon discovered that, though there was a good deal of general interest in the subject and strong approval of the movement on the part of a number of prominent persons, yet attention was too much absorbed at the Capital in other phases of politics both home and foreign to leave any room for the consideration of this weighty subject.

MR. CREMER'S VISIT.

One of the most noteworthy events of the year, though

it resulted apparently in no immediate advancement of the treaty toward realization, was the visit to Washington, immediately after our Committee had been there, of Hon. William Randal Cremer, a member of the British House of Commons and one of the leaders of the arbitration cause in that body. Mr. Cremer brought with him a memorial to the President and Congress of the United States signed by 354 members, or more than half, of the House of Commons. This memorial, praying for an arbitration arrangement between the two countries, and suggesting that the United States could most fitly take the initiation steps, was presented to President Cleveland and Secretary Gresham personally by Mr. Cremer, and a copy of it was placed in the hands of every member of both Houses of Congress. The subject was widely commented upon in the press at the time, for the most part favorably. But owing to the lateness of the session and press of business no action on the subject was taken either by Congress, or the Administration.

It can not be doubted however that the memorial has had a strong influence and it is certain to bear fruit in the near future.

ANTWERP PEACE CONGRESS.

The annual Peace Congress of 1894 was held at Antwerp at the last of August. Four delegates from our Society attended its sessions, Dr. Trueblood, Hezekiah Butterworth, Cephas Brainerd, Esq., and Mrs. Mary Frost Ormsby. Delegates from two other American Societies also attended. As usual the American delegates were received with marked attention, and our Secretary was chosen to preside over one section of the Congress. No one of the Congresses hitherto held has surpassed this in interest, and in unselfish, harmonious action. It had a semi-official character, being held under the auspices of a large Committee appointed by the King of Belgium. This fact gave added weight to its deliberations.

THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE.

The annual conference of the Interparliamentary Peace Union was held at The Hague immediately after the Peace Congress. This Union has grown rapidly since its organization in 1889 and now has a membership of twelve hundred, all of them members or ex-members of European parliaments. The conference at The Hague lasted three days and was attended by about 125 delegates. It was held in the old Dutch Senate Chamber and presided over by the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs. Secretary Trueblood was courteously allowed a seat in this Conference as a visitor. This Peace Union of members of European parliaments is proving a very powerful agent in breaking down the misunderstanding and ill-feeling between the nations of the old world.

WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

During the twelve months covered by our report the

work of the peace societies on both sides of the Atlantic, with many of which our office is in correspondence, has been carried on with vigor and with increased faith in the ultimate success of the cause. New peace societies have continued to spring up in Europe, especially in Germany where the National Association has spread itself into different parts of the Empire and brought into its ranks many cultured and influential men. In England, in France, in Italy, in Austria, in Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Roumania, the propaganda has been earnestly pushed forward on the platform, in the churches, in the schools, in the Universities, in the press, in literature and in legislative councils. The older peace societies were never more active than now, and all the Associations, new and old, through the International Peace Bureau at Berne and in other ways, are working together with increased unity of purpose for the common end.

THE CHINA-JAPAN WAR.

In July last, as is well known to all, war broke out between the two Eastern nations, China and Japan. The causes of the war, though somewhat obscure, seem to have been, on the one side, aggravating and inexcusable acts of international injustice, such as have been the root of many wars in the past, and, on the other, an impatience, restlessness and desire of national glory born of a rapid progress much more intellectual in its character than moral or spiritual. For eight dreary months the unfortunate conflict went on, destroying thousands of lives, breaking up homes forever, wasting millions of property and laying the foundations of an international feud which is almost certain to embitter the relations of the two nations for generations to come and result in taxing their peoples to the verge of starvation to support the great land and naval armaments which will be one of the immediate fruits of the struggle. The war, wicked and unjustifiable as it was, judged from our Christian standards, was inevitable considering the condition of the two countries, and the only certain way of preventing fighting in the future between these and other nations is by changing the moral status of the people and bringing them to accept and incorporate into their life the principles of love, confidence and mutual helpfulness on which our Christian civilization is gradually building itself up to greater consistency and completeness. To this work of helping to recast public sentiment and secure the expression of its improvement in the methods of international dealing and in the forms of international law our Society is still, as from the beginning, devoting its chief energies. It is permitted to hope that the recent war may be the last in the East and that under the overruling providence of God it will have proved the fuller opening of those lands to the great Christian ideas and principles which are gradually conquering the affection of men and eliminating war

from society and leading the race on to a rightly founded and enduring peace.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Besides the trouble in the East, there has been much the past year in the relations of the nations to each other to create anxiety. The long-standing boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela has grown recently more serious. Charges of fresh and unscrupulous aggressions have been made on the one side and of renewed insults and annoyances on the other. Special efforts have been made on both sides of the water, including a unanimous request of the United States House of Representatives, to bring the two nations to submit their dispute to an impartial arbitration, but so far all has been in vain. The trouble still pends and embitters the relations between the two countries.

The adjustment of the Behring Sea question has not proved adequate to the purpose had in view, viz., the preservation of the seals. Considerable feeling has been created in England through the failure of our House of Representatives to appropriate the sum agreed upon by the Secretary of State and the British Minister at Washington as damages to the Canadian sealers, and it is reported that for this reason Great Britain has declined to renew the arrangement of last summer for the patrol of Behring Sea. This action of the British Government, if it be a fact, is doubtless due to a lack of complete information as to the reasons which actuated the House of Representatives. It is hardly possible that serious complications will result from the unexpected turn which this question has taken.

The British conflict with Nicaragua over the expulsion from the latter's territory of the English Vice Consul Hatch, which led to the landing of British troops at Corinto and created great excitement in this country as well as others, has just been pacifically adjusted. The Nicaraguan Government has agreed to pay the indemnity demanded and the British marines have been withdrawn. The conduct of our State Department in connection with this incident, though severely criticised in some quarters, as it has become more fully known, seems, to have been not only pacific but wise and dignified and statesmanlike.

During the winter Mexico and Guatemala came to the verge of war over a boundary dispute. Pacific counsels in the end prevailed and an amicable settlement of the question was recently reached, to the great satisfaction of both countries.

The questions raised between this country and England on account of the shooting of British subjects in the New Orleans Massacre, between this country and Italy because of the killing of Italian subjects in Colorado, between this country and Spain on account of the Allianca affair have either been settled amicably or are in the way of

such settlement. The relations of the United States to the new Republic of Hawaii have not been altogether satisfactory, but the present indications are that they will not continue to be unpleasant. With the nations of the world at large, while at strife, the United States has continued scrupulously to maintain her historic spirit of friendly neutrality and her ministers and ambassadors at the different capitals have done much for the promotion of international concord. Some of them have been conspicuous the past year as peacemakers.

The condition of things politically in Europe shows but few signs of improvement, in fact, in some respects grows steadily worse. But little increase has been made during the year in the great armaments, chiefly owing to the fact that there is no more money to be had. The overgrown armies continue to exhaust the resources of the countries, the governments watch each other with jealous and distrustful eye, and their statesmen are kept busy trying to prevent complications which may at any moment set the whole continent on fire.

In their colonial relations the year has not been an altogether fortunate one to the European nations. Spain has on her hands a serious and stubborn rebellion in Cuba, for which she must chiefly blame herself. France has fallen into an unfortunate conflict with the Hovas in Madagascar for which it is difficult to find any satisfactory justification. Italy has been fighting and winning "glorious victories" over the natives within her "sphere of influence" in Africa. England has had trouble on one of her East Indian frontiers. Turkey has outraged the conscience of the civilized world and blackened herself with an inefaceable stain by the barbarous treatment which she has permitted to come upon the peaceable and liberty-loving Armenians. The condition of the world is still dark enough to discourage even the most hopeful Christian optimist, if he look only at these exhibitions of injustice, greed of power and open disregard of the plainest rights of men and of peoples.

CASES OF ARBITRATION.

But the history of the year has not by any means been wholly one of "wars and rumors of wars," of injustice, aggression, and international friction. In spite of these and sometimes triumphing signally over them, the cause of arbitration, conciliation and peaceful diplomacy has made steady gains. The case of Mexico and Guatemala has been mentioned. Chile and Bolivia have just reached a peaceful solution of their territorial trouble. The Governments of Great Britain and Portugal have agreed to submit to arbitration their dispute about Manicaland. The Panier question between Great Britain and Russia has been adjusted by the latter making concessions to the former.

The dispute between Holland and Great Britain about the seizing of the "Costa Rica Packet" by the Dutch au-

thorities in the Dutch India Seas has been given to arbitration. The boundary dispute between Brazil and Argentina submitted some time ago to the President of the United States, was the past winter decided by him in favor of Brazil, and the decision was loyally accepted by the Argentine Republic.

THE PROSPECT.

It is little short of miraculous that with so many disturbing incidents and so many causes of irritation in the international relations of the last twelve months there has been so little actual war. Fifty years ago with so many *casus belli* there would have been clashing of arms everywhere. The truth is that though there has been plenty of bluster and threatening, large exhibitions of "Jingo patriotism" and loud-mouthed assertions of readiness to fight, all the world, there has been much less real desire to fight than appearances would indicate. Peace, now the prevailing state of human society in the large, has maintained and strengthened itself in the midst of these confusions, not primarily because fighting is more destructive than formerly, but because of the growing conviction on the part both of the masses and of statesmen that war is everywhere and always not only cruel and inhuman but really unnecessary. It is hardly extravagant to say that, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the events of the year taken in their aggregate and interpreted according to true principles furnish as real ground for encouragement as those of any year since our work as an organization began.

With thankfulness to God that we have been permitted to render some humble service in the promotion of a great cause to the rapid advancement of which so many agencies are contributing, we respectfully submit this our report.

SPECIAL PUBLIC MEETING.

A special public meeting of the Society, called for the purpose of promoting public sentiment in favor of the proposed treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain and of the neutralization of the Hawaiian Islands, was held in the evening at Association Hall. The audience was not as large as had been hoped but it was a representative one. In spirit the meeting could not have been better, and the speaking was of an exceptionally high order.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine presided. He said that movements should not be judged by the size of the audiences which gather in their support. Many of the great movements which had finally transformed society had at first been represented by a few thoughtful, earnest people gathered in council. After briefly alluding to the greatness and growing importance of the cause in whose interests the meeting was gathered he introduced Mr. Edward Atkinson who he believed was the originator of the

idea of the neutralization of the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Atkinson's address, which was listened to with the closest attention, is given in full on another page.

Mr. Henry Lloyd was next introduced to speak on the relations of workingmen to arbitration. He said that he was glad to stand for a few moments on that platform and express his approval of the work in which the Peace Society was engaged. He was glad to see even as many representative people as were present thus manifesting their interest. The cause was so great that it could not be adequately represented by the largest audiences which could possibly be gathered together. The labor movement stood for arbitration as the only proper means of settling disputes between nations as well as between laborers and their employers. No class of people had more to fear from the development of the Jingo spirit than the laboring men. The men, senators and others, who were doing so much to develop jingoism would keep at a safe distance if there were any real fighting to do, and the workingmen would be the ones who would be shot down. The United States Navy may be looked upon as about as useless as a fifth wheel to a coach. He was sorry there was so much bitterness between laborers and capitalists. They ought to be able to sit down together and calmly and impartially solve their differences. It did not show a very advanced state of civilization that third parties had to be called in. Workingmen in this country had paid but little attention to the international aspects of the question because it had not been necessary. In Europe they had everywhere protested against the growing militarism and they should have to do so here, if the military spirit kept on growing as it had been doing lately. He referred to the great influence of leading men like Lord Rosebery and the Bishop of Durham in England and Bishop Potter and others in New York in settling difficulties between labor and capital, and wondered why their example was not oftener followed. The Federation of Labor was not in favor of strikes, if they could be avoided in fairness to working people. Their leaders had declined to allow the Federation to be drawn into the Chicago strike. They were in favor of patience, and appeals to reason and the sense of justice, rather than to violence. The labor men, he said, could be relied upon to support the movement for the removal of the causes of strife and for the promotion of peace for which the Peace Society stood.

The next speaker was Rev. Reuben Thomas, D. D., who spoke with special reference to the proposed arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain. He said: Those of us who belong to the Peace Society are manifestly a small minority of the people, but intelligent people always are in a minority. He was not ashamed to be with the minority, for minorities, properly constituted, are always right. Our cause is not utopian, as a number of successful efforts to settle disputes by arbitra-

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